857 462 231 /44 cont./ an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

857 462 224 2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative [531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

[114 cont.]

789 821 nights and repeating this at sunrise; or shooting their arrows — or a more modern procedure, their shotguns — toward the clouds to make them discharge their moisture. In the first case, it seems as if the drums endeavor to reproduce the sound of thunder during the storms that are usually associated with rain. The native believes that by creating one of the concomitant factors he will bring about the whole desired condition, that is, the production of the whole phenomenon; for him, thunder and rain are two equal and inseparable things, so by obtaining one he will automatically attain the other.

• • •

241 462 Men and women participate equally in sowing crops with a division of labor which corresponds to the combined magico-biological whole. The men have charge of preparing the soil and making the holes for the seed; the women do the planting and the covering up of the seed. They say that if the grain is planted by the woman, it will have a better chance of growing and developing, and the harvest will be more abundant. The woman is considered as a symbol of fecundity through accomplishing the gestation of the child, and that force she transmits to the seed at the moment she plants it.

• • •

789 821 During eclipses of the sun or moon the natives cry disconsolately because they fear that these heavenly bodies will not continue fulfilling their functions; in crying they implore them not to abandon them nor leave the world plunged in darkness. To oblige them to return to normal, the Indians shoot their rifles at them, and in the more remote areas of La Guajira they organize a great noisy shouting, crying and shooting their arrows at the sky, so that the new day will triumph.

• • •

When there is a great deal of lightning during the stormy season, the old Guajiro who still retain a great fear of this natural

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

541 536 796 [538] 5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

536 539 796 During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respective leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

825 241 536 796 The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 796 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of prosletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

241 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
460 presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
238 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

172 these tumas are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for treasure "of the Arhuaco." They themselves, although coveting tumas above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [171] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior being. They evidently took possession by conquest, 174 driving the weaker "Arhuaco" out, and have managed to assert their rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small [161] tribe, which probably never exceeded 80,000, should have been able to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

133 Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Rancheria to a little beyond the Teta. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Teta and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, lofty, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimare, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Jurián). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seawards impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level. 133 241 None of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar [157] to that of the Sierra Nevada at 9000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 62° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punta Espada is Ara-ara. Owing to the low dense

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bush I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Goajira with grain food. Many small low castes of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians.

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall call Parashi Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both seas, reaches 350 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brazilete, divi-divi, cacti, and other prickly bushes, intersected by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forlorn appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Ruma. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1950 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Ruma.

Some 15 miles south of Ruma, Guajarepa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2200 feet, and must be the Cerro Acoito of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Goajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 400 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerros de Jallarure from a rancho at the foot of Guajarepa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Ataipa. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather tortuous valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated knife-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yuripiche, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2800 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Auipana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Parashi, are destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their weird shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cocinas or Robber Indians. The celebrated Tota Goajira may be considered as belonging to this range, (for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Goajira, and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a sttict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

342
241
501

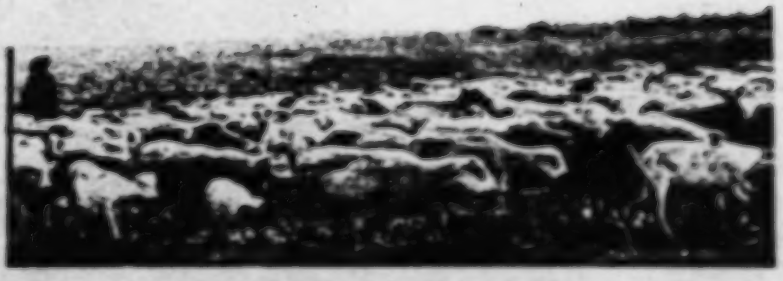
Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

231
123
343
516

Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

231



[facing p. 176]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[183] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Calcaño in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[228] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, corn, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

23 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.